

Message Text

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PAGE 01 JOHANN 01934 01 OF 03 271424Z

ACTION AF-10

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R 270910Z JUL 77

FM AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6458

INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMCONSUL DURBAN

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

USIA WASHDC

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 JOHANNESBURG 1934

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, SF

SUBJECT: PRESS REPORT: THE CITIZEN REPORTS ON US-SA

REF: JOHANNESBURG 1881

JOHANNESBURG DAILY THE CITIZEN JULY 26 EDITION CONTINUES ITS SERIES, UNDER BY-LINE AIDA PARKER, ON SECRET US WAR AGAINST SA, AS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN QUOTE

LETTERS ON AN AFRICAN TOUR - BUTHELEZI WAS WARNED NOT TO ACCOMPANY EGLIN. THE CITIZEN HAS AGAIN BEEN CHALLENGED TO PROVATE THAT ANY LIBERAL AMERICAN OR US GOVERNMENT-FUNDED AGENCY HAS INVOLVED ITSELF IN SOUTH AFRICAN AFFAIRS.

TODAY, THEREFORE, WE REPRODUCE A SERIES OF CONFIDENTIAL LETTERS IN WHICH NO LESS A PERSON THAN MR. COLIN EGLIN, FORMER PROGRESSIVE PARTY LEADER AND NOW LEADER OF THE PROGREFS, EMERGED AS THE PRINCIPAL VICTIM.

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 JOHANN 01934 01 OF 03 271424Z

SOME DETAILS OF THIS CORRESPONDENCE -- BETWEEN MR. EGLIN AND MR. WILLIAM R. COTTER, PRESIDENT OF THE CIA-CREATED, NEW YORK-BASED AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE -- WERE LEAKED TO THE PRESS IN NEW YORK IN 1973.

THE LETTERS THEMSELVES, HOWEVER, HAVE NEVER BEEN PRINTED.

THIS CORRESPONDENCE IS NOW IN THE HANDS OF THE CITIZEN.
SOUTH AFRICANS AND AMERICANS MIGHT FIND THE DETAILS
INTERESTING.

THE FIRST, DATED JULY 30, 1973, IS FROM MR. EGLIN TO MR.
COTTER: " ... I AM WRITING TO YOU ABOUT A PROJECT I AM
PLANNING, BOTH TO SEEK YOUR ADVICE AND ALSO IN THE HOPE THAT
YOU MIGHT FEEL THAT YOU ARE IN A POSITION TO ASSIST.

"YOU WILL RECALL THAT TWO YEARS AGO, ACCOMPANIED MOST OF THE
WAY BY HELEN SUZMAN, I VISITED A NUMBER OF STATES IN AFRICA
AND HAD INTERVIEWS WITH THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT IN BOTSWANA,
SENEGAL, THE GAMBIA, GHANA, KENYA, TANZANIA AND MALAWI. (IN
KENYA WITH VICE-PRESIDENT ARAP MOI)

"I FELT IT IS TIME I VENTURED NORTH AGAIN, CALLING AT A
COUPLE OF THE STATES I VISITED BEFORE, BUT ALSO VISITING A
FEW OTHERS.

" I HAVE ALSO DECIDED THAT IN ORDER TO DRAMATIZE THE MULTIRACIAL
NATURE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SET-UP, AND THE FACT THAT THERE
ARE PEOPLE BELONGING TO THE VARIOUS COMMUNITIES WITHIN SOUTH
AFRICA WHO ARE PREPARED TO COOPERATE WITH EACH OTHER, TO
ENDEAVOR TO UNDERTAKE THIS TOUR ACCOMPANIED BY A PROMINENT
COLORED AND AFRICAN SOUTH AFRICAN.

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 JOHANN 01934 01 OF 03 271424Z

"I HAVE APPROACHED CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI AND MR. DAVID CURRY,
LEADER OF THE LABOR PARTY, AND BOTH HAVE AGREED TO COME WITH
ME ON THIS VENTURE -- PROVIDING IT CAN BE ARRANGED.

"THE PROPOSAL, THEN, IS FOR THE THREE OF US TO VISIT APPROXI-
MATELY EIGHT AFRICAN COUNTRIES DURING OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER.
" IN THE COURSE OF DISCUSSIONS I HAVE HAD WITH GATSHA, HE HAS
MENTIONED THAT HE HAS BEEN INVITED TO A CONFERENCE IN ADDIS
ABABA IN NOVEMBER, A CONFERENCE IN WHICH I GATHER THE AFRICAN-
AMERICAN INSTITUTE IS DIRECTLY INVOLVED.

"CLEARLY FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF OUR TOUR IT WOULD BE MOST
CONVENIENT IF WE COULD LINK UP WITH SUCH A CONFERENCE.

"I AM NOT SURE OF THE NATURE OF THE CONFERENCE OR THE COMPO-
SITION OF THE DELEGATION, BUT I WOULD LIKE TO ENQUIRE WHETHER
IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE, OR FROM YOUR POINT OF VIEW DESIRABLE,
FOR CURRY AND MYSELF TO ATTEND AT LEAST AS OBSERVERS.

"EVEN IF THIS IS NOT POSSIBLE, IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT I HAVE
NO CONTACTS IN ADDIS ABABA, I WONDER WHETHER YOU ARE IN A
POSITION THROUGH YOUR CONTACTS TO SECURE AN ENTRY FOR US TO

ETHIOPIA?

"THE EAST/CENTRAL AFRICAN COUNTRIES WE WOULD LIKE TO VISIT, AS WE NOW SEE IT, ARE ZAMBIA, TANZANIA, KENYA, ETHIOPIA -- OR MALAWI, SHOULD ONE OF THESE NOT MATERIALIZE; AND SENEGAL AND ZAIRE IN WEST/CENTRAL AFRICA.

" IN ADDITION, TWO OF THE FOLLOWING PUT IN ORDER OF PREFERENCE: NIGERIA, IVORY COAST, GHANA, SIERRE LEONE, LIBERIA.

" I AM INVOKING THE ASSISTANCE OF MR. HARRY OPPENHEIMER, WHO WAS VERY GOOD IN ASSISTING ME LAST TIME, AND AM ALSO IN TOUCH WITH MR. MAURICE TEMPLESMAN IN NEW YORK.

" I THINK THAT THROUGH MY OWN CONTACTS AND THOSE OF MR. OPPEN-
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 JOHANN 01934 01 OF 03 271424Z

HEIMER WE SHOULD HAVE NO DIFFICULTY IN ARRANGING ZAMBIA, TANZANIA, KENYA, SENEGAL AND ZAIRE.

"IF YOU WOULD BE ABLE TO ASSIST ME IN ANY OF THE OTHER STATES I WOULD BE MOST GRATEFUL. I THINK YOU KNOW MR. MAURICE TEMPLESMAN.

" IF I AM CORRECT I WOULD DEEM IT A GREAT FAVOR IF YOU COULD LIASE WITH HIM IN THIS CONNECTION.

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PAGE 01 JOHANN 01934 02 OF 03 271424Z

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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 3 JOHANNESBURG 1934

E.O. 11652: N/A

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SUBJECT: PRESS REPORT: THE CITIZEN REPORTS ON US-SA

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" I REALIZE THAT THIS LETTER MAY BE THOUGHT TO BE PRESUMPTUOUS. NEVERTHELESS, I AM WRITING TO YOU BECAUSE MY ASSESSMENT IS THAT YOU WOULD BELIEVE THAT A TOUR OF THIS NATURE COULD BE OF VALUE BEYOND THE MERE BOUNDARIES OF SOUTH AFRICA.

"ALSO, I THINK YOU WOULD APPRECIATE THE DIFFICULTIES IN COMMUNICATING WITH AFRICA NORTH OF THE ZAMBEZI EX-CAPE TOWN".

THE SECOND LETTER FROM MR. COTTER TO MR. EGLIN IS DATED AUGUST 3, 1973.

" DEAR MR. EGLIN. THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF JULY 30. I AM AFRAID THAT IT SIMPLY WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR YOU TO BE INVITED TO THE ADDIS ABABA CONFERENCE.
UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 JOHANN 01934 02 OF 03 271424Z

" THE LIST OF INVITEES IS DRAWN UP BY A GROUP OF DISTINGUISHED AFRICANS AND AMERICANS WHO SERVE AS THE DIRECTING COMMITTEE FOR THE CONFERENCE, AND THOSE LISTS HAVE ALREADY BEEN COMPLETED.

" OBSERVERS ARE NOT PERMITTED IN THE SESSIONS, WHICH ARE DESIGNED TO ENABLE THE RELATIVELY SMALL GROUP OF AFRICANS AND AMERICAN TO EXCHANGE IDEAS FREELY ABOUT PROBLEMS COMMON TO THE UNITED STATES AND THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.

"MOREOVER, THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT HAS AGREED TO ARRANGE VISAS FOR ALL THOSE INVITED TO THE CONFERENCE, BUT WE ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO OBTAIN ETHIOPIAN VISAS FOR NON-CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS.

" I WISH WE COULD BE OF MORE HELP IN THIS MATTER, BUT I HOPE YOU UNDERSTAND THE REASONS WHICH MAKE THIS IMPOSSIBLE.
SINCERELY, WILLIAM R. COTTER".

THE " REASONS" FOR MR. EGLIN'S UNACCEPTABILITY WERE SPELLED OUT MUCH MORE EXPLICITLY IN A LETTER, ALSO DATED AUGUST 3, 1973, FROM MR. COTTER TO CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU.

THIS READ: " DEAR GATSHA. WE WERE DELIGHTED TO RECEIVE YOUR FORMAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE INVITATION TO ATTEND THE DIALOGUE AND I'M HAPPY TO SEE THAT THE NEW DATES DID NOT CREATE A PROBLEM FOR YOU.

"WE HAD CHANGED THEM FROM THE ORIGINAL NOVEMBER DATES AT THE REQUEST OF THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT TO FIT IN BETTER WITH THE EMPEROR'S OWN SCHEDULE.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 JOHANN 01934 02 OF 03 271424Z

" I HAVE RECEIVED A LETTER FROM COLIN EGLIN, DATED JULY 30, A COPY OF WHICH I ENCLOSE. I ALSO ENCLOSE A COPY OF MY ANSWER TO COLIN, WHICH I AM SENDING TODAY.

" I AM , FRANKLY, WORRIED ABOUT YOUR INTENTION TO TRAVEL WITH EGLIN AND DAVID CURRY IN CONNECTION WITH YOUR TRIP TO ADDIS FOR THE DIALOGUE.

" AS YOU KNOW, WE WANT TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF ZAMBIA, KENYA AND TANZANIA FOR YOU TO VISIT THOSE COUNTRIES ON YOUR WAY TO AND/OR RETURNING FROM THE ADDIS MEETING.

"HOWEVER, THAT WAS ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT YOU WOULD BE TRAVELLING ALONE. I'M AFRAID THAT IF YOU TRAVEL IN THE COMPANY OF A WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN - EVEN SUCH AN OBVIOUS LIBERAL AS COLIN EGLIN -- THIS WILL MAKE IT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT FOR ARRANGEMENTS TO BE MADE.

"THERE MIGHT BE THE APPEARANCE THAT EGLIN WAS 'SPONSORING ' YOUR VISIT TO OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES AS PART OF HIS DESIRE TO REESTABLISH 'DIALOGUE' BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICAN AND BLACK AFRICA.

" THE POLICY OF DIALOGUE, AS YOU WELL KNOW, IS STILL OPPOSED BY NEARLY EVERY AFRICAN COUNTRY AND THAT SUSPICION COULD ONLY COMPROMISE YOU AND YOUR ABILITY TO MAKE THE KIND OF CONTACTS AND HAVE THE CONVERSATIONS WHICH YOU WANT.

"CONSEQUENTLY I WOULD URGE YOU NOT TO TRAVEL (AT LEAST IN CONNECTION WITH THE DIALOGUE VISIT) WITH EGLIN AND CURRY, BUT RATHER MAKE THAT TRIP ALONE (I.E. , WITH ONLY YOUR OWN STAFF ACCOMPANYING YOU) TO MAKE IT CLEAR TO ALL CONCERNED THAT YOU ARE YOUR OWN MAN AND NOT SOME FAINT ECHO OF A LIBERAL WHITE-SOUTH AFRICAN PLAN FOR DOMESTIC INTEGRATION AND CONTINENTAL DIALOGUE.

"PLEASE LET ME KNOW AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WHAT YOUR DECISION IS. IF YOU WILL BE TRAVELLING ALONE, THEN WE WILL PROCEED TO MAKE THE CONTACTS AS PROMISED WITH TANZANIA, ZAMBIA AND KENYA.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 JOHANN 01934 02 OF 03 271424Z

" IF HOWEVER, YOU FEEL YOU ARE COMMITTED TO TRAVEL WITH EGLIN
AND CURRY THEN, I'M AFRAID, WE WOULD RATHER NOT MAKE SUCH
ARRANGEMENTS AT THIS TIME.

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 JOHANN 01934 03 OF 03 271228Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 3 OF 3 JOHANNESBURG 1934

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"WARMEST REGARDS TO YOU AND IRENE, CORDIALLY, WILLIAM R. COTTER".

THERE ARE A NUMBER OF STRIKING POINTS ABOUT THIS CORRESPONDENCE:

1. LAWYERS TO WHOM I HAVE SHOWN MR. COTTER'S LETTER TO CHIEF
GATSHA AGREE THAT IT PRESENTS A CLEAR WARNING TO KWAZULU
LEADER: THAT IF HE INSISTED ON TRAVELING WITH A WELL-KNOWN
WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN LIBERAL, THEN AAI WOULD WITHDRAW ITS
SPONSORSHIP FOR THE ETHIOPIAN TRIP.

2. THE LETTER TO CHIEF GATSHA WAS ADDRESSED TO HIM " C/O
CONSUL GENERAL EDWARD HOLMES, US EMBASSY, DURBAN". MR. HOLMES
WAS ACCUSED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS LATER IN 1973 OF BEING

A CIA AGENT, A CHARGE HE DESCRIBED AS " LUDICROUS" -- A DENIAL WHICH COULD BE EXPECTED IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES.
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 JOHANN 01934 03 OF 03 271228Z

THE " MR. MAURICE TEMPLESMAN" MENTIONED IN MR. EGLIN'S LETTER IS THE HEAD OF A NEW YORK-BASED DIAMOND COMPANY EXPOSED, ACCORDING TO THE PARIS-BASED INTERNATIONAL NEW PRESS AGENCY IN AN INTELLIGENCE BRIEFING DATED OCTOBER 23, 1975, AS A "COMPANY HAVING WORKED CLOSELY WITH THE CIA FOR MORE THAN A DECADE".

ACCORDING TO INPA, " MAURICE TEMPLESMAN HIMSELF IS ON THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE WHICH PUBLISHED AFRICA REPORT MAGAZINE IN NEW YORK -- A MAGAZINE NOW KNOW TO HAVE BEEN FOUNDED, IN THE LATE 1950'S, WITH CIA FUNDS, ALTHOUGH THAT SOURCE OF DIRECT FUNDING ENDED AFTER FIVE YEARS".

BECAUSE OF THE DISCLOSURES ON AAI ATTITUDES GIVEN IN THESE LETTERS, THE CITIZEN SENT COPIES TO THE PRIME MINISTER, MR. JOHN VORSTER.

COPIES ALSO WENT TO MR. EGLIN, ASKING IF HE WOULD CARE TO COMMENT. IN HIS REPLY MR. EGLIN SAID THE COMMENTS MADE AT THE TIME OF THE EARLIER DISCLOSURES " STILL STAND" IN THESE EARLIER COMMENTS MR. EGLIN SAID: " WHAT IS IRONIC IS THAT WHILE A TRIO OF BLACK, WHITE AND BROWN LEADERS WERE WILLING TO VENTURE TO THE NORTH TOGETHER, AND THAT WHILE CERTAIN LEADERS IN AFRICA WERE PREPARED TO TALK WITH THEM, WHITE LIBERALS IN THE US SHOULD APPEAR TO FIND THIS JOINT VENTURE UNDESIRABLE. HOW MR. VORSTER MUST BE CHUCKLING.

" I REITERATE THAT I BELIEVE IT UNFORTUNATE THAT PEOPLE IN THE US SHOULD HAVE PREVENTED THE THREE OF US FROM GOING TO OTHER STATES IN AFRICA IN A COMBINED ATTEMPT TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THERE WERE WHITE, BLACK AND BROWN SOUTH AFRICANS WHO WERE PREPARED TO COOPERATE AND WHO WISHED TO RESOLVE SOME OF THE TENSIONS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE REST OF AFRICA".

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 JOHANN 01934 03 OF 03 271228Z

WHAT MR. EGLIN DID NOT UNDERSTAND, OF COURSE, WAS THAT HE WAS DEALING WITH A VERY SPECIAL TYPE OF AMERICAN LIBERAL. MR. COTTER, DEDICATEDLY ANTI-SOUTH AFRICAN, SPELT OUT HIS ATTITUDE TO SOUTH AFRICA IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS IN A STATEMENT BEFORE THE US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON JUNE 1, 1972. INTER ALIA, THIS READ: " I AM IN COMPLETE ACCORD WITH THOSE WHO CALL FOR THE STRONGEST MEASURES BY THE US TO ACCELERATE

THE PROCESS OF CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA. NOR WOULD I AUTOMATICALLY RULE OUT VIOLENCE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF OBTAINING THE RIGHTS OF THE NON-WHITE MAJORITY".

THAT BOTH MR. COTTER (A MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, AMERICA'S SO -CALLED " INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT") AND THE AAI HAVE VERY POWERFUL US GOVERNMENT CONNECTIONS IS BEYOND DISPUTE.

CFR-MEMBER, MR. WALDEMAR A. NIELSON, FIRST PRESIDENT OF AAI, CERTAINLY HAD NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE SOURCE OF INSTITUTE FUNDS. IN A PUBLIC STATEMENT IN FEBRUARY, 1967, HE SAID THE CIA SUBSIDIZED THE INSTITUTE FROM ITS FOUNDING IN 1953 UNTIL 1961 AND HE WAS CONSCIOUS OF THE " INHERENT IMPRUDENCE AND IMPROPRIETY OF THE ARRANGEMENT.

BUT ONCE IT BEGAN, SAID NIELSON, THE INSTITUTE BECAME " LIKE A DRUNK TAKING THE FIRST DRINK ... IT IS EASY TO OVER-INDULGE".

AT THE TIME THE INSTITUTE'S TIES WITH THE AGENCY WERE SEVERED, IT WAS GETTING HALF ITS BUDGET FROM THE CIA.

ALTHOUGH THE CIA NO LONGER PLAYS SUCH AN OVERT ROLE IN ITS AFFAIRS, THE AAI REMAINS HEAVILY RELIANT ON US GOVERNMENT MONEY, CHANNELED THROUGH THE BUREAU OF EDUCATION AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (AID), PLUS THE FORD FOUNDATION, ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION, CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK, NEIL A. MCCONNELL FOUNDATION AND COMMINS ENGINE FOUNDATION GRANTS. MOST, IF NOT ALL, THESE FOUNDATIONS ARE WELL-KNOWN CIA CONDUITS.

END QUOTE. JOHNSON

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